

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

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R 041533Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 351

S E C R E T MADRID 6889

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, SP

SUBJECT: CURRENT EMBASSY ASSESSMENT OF AGREEMENT
OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION NEGOTIATION
PROSPECTS

1. AN EMBASSY WORKING GROUP, INCLUDING PARTICIPATION FROM DAO, JUSMAG AND 16TH AF, HAS COMPLETED A SET OF STAFF PAPERS ON ISSUES RELATING TO THE NEGOTIATION ON THE AGREEMENT OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION THAT IS ABOUT TO BEGIN. SOME OF THESE PAPERS HAVE ALREADY BEEN SENT TO THE DEPT; THE FULL SET IS BEING MADR AVAIL-
ABLE HERE TO AMB MCCLOSKEY AND HIS NEGOTIATING TEAM. A SUMMARY OF THE EMBASSY'S MAJOR CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE NEGOTIATIONS UPON HAVING COMPLETED THIS STAFF WORK FOLLOWS.

2. THE NEGOTIATIONS PROBABLY WILL MOVE SLOWLY AND DELIBERATELY. THIS CONCLUSION IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING REASONING. THE SPANISH GOVT WILL WANT TO GIVE ITS INCREASINGLY POLITICALLY SENSITIZED PUBLIC THE IMPRESSION OF HAVING NEGOTIATED CAREFULLY AND HARD AND OF NOT HAVING RUSHED UNNECESSARILY TO REACH AN AGREEMENT. SPAIN MAY PREFER TO SEE THE OUTCOME OF THE PORTUGUESE NEGITIATIONS BEFORE CONCLUDING ITS OWN. AND THE PRINCIPAL SPANISH OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING FRANCO, ARE BY NATURE DELIBERATE AND CAUTIOUS. FRANCO'S UNCERTAIN HEALTH IS A FACTOR IN THE MINDS OF SOME WEIGHING ON THE SIDE OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT QUICKLY, AND A DETERIORATION IN HIS HEALTH COULD CONCEIVABLY AT SOME POINT RESULT IN A SPEEDING OF THE PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THE ODDS

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ARE AGAINST THIS OCCURRING BECAUSE FRANCO SEEMS TO BE IN RELATIVELY

GOOD HEALTH NOW; BECAUSE ANY AGREEMENT WILL IN THE END HAVE TO STAND UP BEFORE PUBLIC OPINION; AND BECAUSE IF FRANCO WERE TO LEAVE THE SCENE BEFORE COMPLETION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS SPAIN WOULD WANT TO CONSIDER THE IMPLICATIONS OF ITS POTENTIAL NATO OPTION.

3. THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD ULTIMATELY CONCLUDE SATISFACTORILY FOR THE UNITED STATES EVEN IF FRANCO DIES OR IS INCAPACITATED BEFORE THEIR CONCLUSION. HOWEVER, IT WILL BE IN THE UNITED STATES INTEREST THAT SPAIN MOVE QUICKLY TO MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, AND THAT ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. CONTINUE UNDER THAT UMBRELLA, IF FRANCO LEAVES THE SCENE BEFORE THE SIGNING OF A NEW AGREEMENT. FRANCO, JUAN CARLOS, ARIAS, AND THE REST OF THE CURRENT TOP LEADERSHIP OF THE SPANISH GOVT ALL WANT TO CONTINUE SPAIN'S CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. IF FRANCO SURVIVES UNTIL SEPT 1975, THE SPANISH GOVT WILL WANT THAT RELATIONSHIP TO CONTINUE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A RENEWED OR NEW AGREEMENT FOR FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION, CHANGED IN SOME RESPECTS BUT NOT FUNDAMENTALLY. IF FRANCO DOES NOT SURVIVE, THE NEW REGIME MAY WISH TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF JOINING NATO ALTHOUGH THIS IS NOT A FOREGONE CONCLUSION. IN ANY EVENT, THIS WOULD TAKE TIME, AND MIGHT RESULT IN A SIMPLE EXTENSION OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT FOR A WHILE WITH SOME MODIFICATIONS WHILE THAT EXPLORATION WENT ON. UNLESS SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN SPAIN CAN BE DEMONSTRATED, A NUMBER OF NATO COUNTRIES WILL NOT CHANGE THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS SPAIN'S MEMBERSHIP. IF SPAIN DID JOIN NATO EVENTUALLY, IT PRESUMABLY WOULD STILL WANT A CLOSE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S., ALTHOUGH THEN UNDER A NATO UMBRELLA. A POLITICAL UPHEAVAL WHICH WOULD CHANGE THIS PROGNOSIS DOES NOT NOW SEEM IN THE CARDS IN SPAIN IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AFTER FRANCO'S DEPARTURE. HOWEVER, CIRCUMSTANCES CAN CHANGE. THEREFORE IT IS IN THE U.S. INTEREST THAT A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY NEW AGREEMENT BE REACHED WITH SPAIN BEFORE FRANCO'S DEPARTURE.

4. THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL FOCUS MAINLY, ALTHOUGH NOT EXCLUSIVELY, ON POLITICAL ISSUES. WHILE THE SPANISH GOVT WISHES TO CONTINUE ITS CLOSE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S., IT IS VERY SENSITIVE TO THE IMPERATIVE OF POLITICAL PALATABILITY OF THAT RELATIONSHIP AS ITS SOCIETY OPENS. ITS PRINCIPAL NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVES PROBABLY WILL BE: (1) STRENGTHENED SECURITY COMMITMENT LANGUAGE
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THAT CAN BE CONSTRUED TO APPLY NOT ONLY TO THE WARSAW PACT THREAT BUT ALSO TO THE CONTINGENT THREAT FROM NORTH AFRICA WITH PRESUMED WARSAW PACT BACKING; (2) A NUCLEAR INDEMNITY GUARANTEE, OR REMOVAL OF PART OR ALL OF THE PRESENT U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE AT TORREJON TO ANOTHER BASE; AND (4) SUFFICIENT UNITED STATES COMMITMENTS WITH REGARD TO PROVISION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY TO MODERNIZE THE SPANISH FORCES, ECONOMIC CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION, AND TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL COOPERATION TO

COUNTER THE ARGUMENTS OF THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION THAT SPAIN IS GETTING TOO LITTLE IN RETURN FOR THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN SPAIN. SPAIN'S CURRENT ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL SITUATION IS SUCH THAT IT IS UNLIKELY TO INSIST ON LARGE GRANTS, ALTHOUGH IT MAY INITIALLY ASK FOR THEM; BUT IT WILL WANT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND FAVORABLE PRICE AND CREDIT TERMS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND IT WILL SEEK LESS STRINGENT CONDITIONS ON THE USE OF THAT EQUIPMENT THAN IN THE PAST. SOME OF THE EQUIPMENT THAT SPAIN IS EXPECTED TO ASK FOR IS IN SHORT SUPPLY. SPAIN WILL ALSO WANT COMMITMENTS TO FAVORABLE TRADE TREATMENT WHICH MAY GO BEYOND WHAT THE U.S. CAN GIVE, AND AN INCREASED SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL COOPERATION PROGRAM. AN INCREASED SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL PROGRAM IS IN THE U.S. INTEREST SIMPLY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF ITS CONTRIBUTION TO POSITIVE LONG-TERM RELATIONS. SPAIN MAY WELL MAKE AN ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN U.S. SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION ON GIBRALTAR IN THE CONTEXT OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT IS UNLIKELY TO INSIST ON IT IN THE END. IT MAY ALSO SEEK SOME DETAILED JURISDICTIONAL CONCESSIONS.

5. THE U.S. PRESUMABLY WILL NOT BE PREPARED TO RESPOND FULLY TO SPAIN'S REQUESTS IN ALL THE ABOVE REGARDS, BUT IT PROBABLY WILL BE IN A POSITION TO RESPOND SUFFICIENTLY TO REACH A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT.

6. A MAJOR PUBLIC RELATIONS PROBLEM IN SPAIN IS THE WIDELY HELD VIEW THAT THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE HERE IS MORE IN THE U.S. INTEREST THAN IN SPAIN'S INTEREST. THE SPANISH GOVT TENDS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THIS VIEW DURING NEGOTIATIONS. CORTINA'S WILLINGNESS TO SAY FRANKLY IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES IN JULY THAT WHAT SPAIN WAS DOING WAS PROTECTING ITS SECURITY WAS HELPFUL. CORTINA'S DESIRE TO EMPHASIZE THE CONCEPT "DEFENSIVE COOPERATION" RATHER THAN "BASES AGREEMENT" IN REFERRING TO THE US-SPANISH RELATIONSHIP IS
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ALSO A GOOD APPROACH. IT WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL IF BOTH SIDES COULD AGREE PRIVATELY IN PRINCIPLE AT THE OUTSET OF NEGOTIATIONS THAT THEY WILL BE POSITIVE IN THEIR PUBLIC UTTERANCES ABOUT THE AGREEMENT IN VIEW OF THE NEED TO ENCOURAGE POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR IT IN BOTH COUNTRIES.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, COMMITTEE MEETINGS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 NOV 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MADRID06889
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740316-0184
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741174/aaaackng.tel
Line Count: 160
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <25 MAR 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CURRENT EMBASSY ASSESSMENT OF AGREEMENT OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION NEGOTIATION
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, SP, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005